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A Discourse on Old and New  
Landmarks;—delivered in Tam-  
many Hall, July 4, 1884,

BY THE

Hon. Samuel S. Cox.

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Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it.—*Deut. xix, 14.*

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DECAY OF INTEGRITY—MORTMAIN AND MONOPOLY—  
LAND-TRUST AND RESTITUTION—PROGRESS  
AND POVERTY—A TIME FOR REFORM.

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SPEECH

OF

HON. SAMUEL S. COX,

IN

TAMMANY HALL,

JULY 4, 1884.

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1884

Still green with bays each ancient altar stands,  
Above the reach of sacrilegious hands.

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A D D R E S S  
OF  
H O N . S . S . C O X .

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Mr. CHAIRMAN: Joining with you in this patriotic celebration, I would like to pursue the beaten path. I would like to follow time-honored precedent, and dwell on the heroic achievements of the fathers, review the proud progress of their sons, and paint with the roseate hue of prophetic hope a glorious promise for our posterity. But duty and love of country impel me to perform a less pleasing task.

Our past has, indeed, been of glorious record. Yet, above the not distant horizon of the future I see dark clouds arising, charged with elements of wrath and destruction.

Instead of indulging in eloquent memories and golden dreams of progress and prosperity, I would call to you from the battlements of your liberties, and command you to haste to their defense; for foes more deadly than armies with banners encompass the walls of your strength and sap the foundations of your citadels.

I crave your indulgence and attention while I speak of the disregard of old codes of faith and rules of conduct which has become all too common in our day and generation. My theme, to-day, is more of fleeting liberties than Independence won.—It is: The decay of Integrity in our Social, Political, and Business relations.

Standing as I do to-day among friends who have known me in the two States I have represented since my early manhood; among friends to whom every step of my public career, and every act of my private life are as an open book, may I not speak freely of the causes of our present national degradation?

The prime cause was our departure from the landmarks set by the fathers when they established the limitations of the powers delegated to the Federal Government. I yield to no one in devotion to my country. My every thought and wish and act, in peace and in war, has been inspired by devotion to the Federal Union, but I charge that the evils of the times had their origin in the breaking down of these landmarks. The terrible fratricidal war which twenty years ago deluged the land with blood, gave occasion for the exercise of Federal power which, although necessary and therefore permissible in time of war, grew into excesses and precedents for times of peace.

The Union established by the fathers for the common defense of the States and the general welfare of the people, is worth all the bloodshed and treasure expended for its establishment and maintenance. But how long will it be worthy of maintenance if the republican form of government gives place—as it is rapidly doing—to a plutocratic usurpation of all the co-ordinate branches of the Federal Government? Is not wealth, or unscrupulous fealty to corporate wealth, fast becoming

the main, the only, and the all-sufficient qualifications for the high offices of State—executive, legislative, and even judicial? What has brought about this woful anti-Republican condition of affairs? Is it not plainly the continuance of the extravagances of the war times, when the foundations of most of the present colossal fortunes were laid in great contracts and cemented with the blood, tears, and cruel taxations of the people?

#### REPUBLICAN SPOILSMEN.

While our soldiers were laying down their lives for the Union there remained at home the army contractors and spoilsmen, who for four long years exacted from the people nearly \$2,000,000 a day as their pay for devotion to the Union! The service of the contractors and spoilsmen, and of the patriots who loaned the Government 30 cents on the dollar at heavy interest, has ever been regarded by the Republican party as something nobler and more worthy of acquittance than the patriotism of the people who sent their sons to the field and toiled to support our armies.

Whatever of legislation was demanded by the contractor, the bondholder, or other non-combatant creditor of the nation has ever been most freely granted by Republican Congresses and administrations. We became so inured to Federal taxation and extravagance under Republican administration, that we looked upon an annual expenditure of five or six hundred millions of dollars with far less concern than we once regarded an expenditure of one-tenth such outlay.

Most of the Federal disbursements go into the pockets of the vast army of agents, officials, stipendiaries, and contractors which has been organized by the Republican party in the twenty-four years of its power. It now costs 50 per cent. more to maintain the Federal Government than it does to support the State, Territorial, county, and municipal governments of our thirty-eight States and eight Territories.

If this were the whole cost of Federal rule, the work of reform would after all not be so difficult to an honest party after its administration got into good working order.

#### THE POWER BEHIND THE THRONE.

But this is not all that a reform party will have to contend against. It must encounter something stronger, something more exacting on the people than the grand army of office retainers in the Republican party. It must encounter a power more compact and wealthy than that of the Republican official organization itself. It must encounter the great unofficial Republican organization of plunderers. This power has grown up within the last twenty-five years under national charters, cash subsidies, land grants, exclusive financial franchises, and the excessive profits of indirect tariff taxations. This army has now almost absolute control of the entire floating wealth of the nation. It has also amassed the great bulk of the fixed wealth, either in direct proprietorship or by mortgage and trust securities.

#### THE AMERICAN MORTMAIN.

Nothing but the wonderful resources of our rich domain could have enabled the people to support themselves under such long-continued and enormous exactions as those to which they have been subjected during the past quarter of a century. The immense flood of immigration that poured in upon us during that period has helped to develop those resources so rapidly, that to the superficial observer our wonderful achievements over nature seem to be conclusive evidence of general



prosperity. You, my friends, who remember the condition of the working people of this country, under the old Democratic régime, know how fallacious this view is. You know, from every day's experience, that although our national wealth has doubled, quadrupled, quintupled, during that time, it is not shared by the masses of the people. It has eluded the grasp of its producers, by some sort of sleight of hand. This is incomprehensible to most people. But it is patent enough to even the tyro in political economy that it has been gathered into the coffers of those who own bonds and stocks. It has been sequestered by companies to whom either directly or indirectly have been granted certain State and Federal powers and privileges without any accompanying features of governmental responsibility or control by the people.

There have been opened to the favored few, by legislative grants and by the prostitution of legislative power, the opportunities to organize under the cloak of the law which enabled thousands of men to become millionaires without ever earning an honest dollar, and hundreds to possess tens and twenties of millions of the wealth we boast of in our statistics.

Thus it has come to pass in this great country of inexhaustible wealth that the masses are miserably poor, that the struggle for existence is daily growing harder for them, and that each year they have less power to control or direct the making, construction, and execution of the laws of this country. Thus it is that wealth—vulgar, coarse, and brutal in its lust, greed, and selfishness—seeks to prostitute every branch of the State and Federal governments to its own ends. It has so benumbed the senses of the people that they have come to that condition in which they scarce think of the possibility of electing a chief magistrate, Senator, or even a Representative to Congress who is not either a millionaire or the bondsman of a great corporation. What a humiliation it is to be compelled to acknowledge such a falling away of patriotism! Are we worthy of the liberties won by our ancestors?

#### THE DECLARATION OF LIBERTY.

Our ancestors never made a declaration of liberty against the tyranny of money. They never dreamed that their sons could become the slaves of such a power. When they signed the document which ushered in our year of political jubilee they struck for independence. They asserted their independence because the form of government in the mother country became destructive of the ends of liberty. When they made a list of their grievances against the British Crown they were not apprehensive about anything except the deprivation of their liberties. "On a little tea," they cried, "depends all of freedom."

The British king had become arbitrary about his assent to the laws. He had become negligent of laws of pressing importance. He had refused laws passed under the right of representation. He had worried legislative bodies so as to fatigue them into compliance. He dissolved them at his will. He kept them inert at his pleasure. He hindered that prosperity which comes of population, naturalization, and migration. He hindered the "appropriations" of land. He obstructed justice and corrupted judges; he sent swarms of new officers to harass the people, and quartered on them standing armies without legislative consent; he gave consequence to the military above the civil power; he instigated his soldiers to outrage and protected them from punishment.

Moreover, he was a tyrant in reference to the liberalities of trade.

He refused to this country the right of commerce with all parts of the world. He shackled industry not only by taxes without consent, but by other arbitrary methods. It was not enough that he took away our charters and abolished our laws, suspended legislatures and arrogated to himself the legislative function, but he waged war against us with all its horrors of ravaged coasts, plundered seas, burnt towns, and spoiled lives. The mercenaries whom he brought here to complete his work, and the merciless savages whom he brought against the inhabitants of our frontiers made his rule abhorrent in the eyes of civilized nations.

All these grievances are as nothing now.

These infractions of personal and public liberty now excite no apprehension. We are still a free people. We are ruled by ourselves. But how long will the institutions of our fathers, honeycombed as they now are by fraud, permeated by selfishness and putrescent with corruption, remain as the witnesses of the heroic struggles of a hundred years ago? What are magna chartas and bills of rights and muniments of personal freedom, the grand incentives to public content and private fortune, when the air is fetid with poison and the Government has degenerated into a moneyed cabal?

The Fourth of July has long been a white day in the national calendar, but how long will it remain so if we abandon the elemental forces by which our fathers acquired their independence while preserving their liberties?

#### THE NATAL DAY OF INDEPENDENCE.

Our fathers were wont to celebrate the natal day of American Independence as men whose glory it was to feel and know that theirs was a land of liberty and plenty; a land where poverty and riches were alike unknown; a land where the people ruled; a land where patriotism, moral worth, and intellectual power were the only sure passports to popular favor. What changes have been wrought among us in a few short years—in the flight of a single generation! Then, we were in very truth a commonwealth; now, we are a nation with rulers set over us. Then, "our country" was the theme of all our eloquence, and liberty our highest aspiration. Now, a most ignoble ambition is eminent and dominant. It rules the press, the pulpit, and the arena of politics. I mean the inordinate desire for wealth that scruples at no means, however dishonorable, that will secure its gratification even at the expense of the general prosperity. The frequent acquisition of sudden wealth, which was so notorious during the late war, seems to have developed among us a spirit of insatiate greed.

#### SPECULATION AND BUSINESS INTERESTS.

Is it indeed true that "money answereth all things"? Is it indeed true that our country has "waxed fat and kicked"? The acquisition of wealth by sinister methods, in the marts of money in the great metropolis, at 20 per cent. a month, is but one of many recent developments leading up to the craze of speculation and the insanity of gambling. Is it true that the old prudence, which is itself a virtue, the heroic loyalty to conscience, and the faith in a Supreme Ruler have given way to the self-seeking promptings of inordinate gain? The panics in our streets and the prisoners in our jails are living illustrations that the Pecksniffs are not all gone; that the Pharisees are yet making broad their phylacteries.

It is true that our civilization creates many wants, many tempta-



tions. It has taken hold of the people; it moves them to the front; it engenders a desire for luxury and prodigality which too often benumbs the scrupulous moral sense in the hurry for the attainment of wealth. The ambition to become rich has tainted almost every department of social life. It has become the common incentive to almost every financial fraud and crime. It has been left for this summer and New York city to show us how "business interests" can be transformed and developed in a way never before defended in the forum of conscience. Whether in the daily investment of capital or in the increase of professional practice, adventurers of all kinds seek, with fair prospects of success, to reach social standing by the prostitution of trusts. The great mass of society in the cities has been leavened by this most undesirable element.

#### MERETRICIOUS CANDIDATES.

In the selection of candidates for the highest trust known to civilization the eyes of the people and their delegates have been blinded by the dazzle of wealth. They fail too frequently to see that the methods of gain, however successful, are not always such as comprehend justice, the dignity of mankind, or the brotherhood of the nation. In other words, the pleasures of social and sensual life have become so paramount as to allure the imagination of the people toward the exaltation of meretricious splendor and sensuous display over modesty and solid worth. The self-styled "party of moral ideas," which boasts of the culture of the schools, of the higher thought, of the finer feeling, of the nobler ambition, and of intellectual exaltation, has long since succumbed before the insolent plutocratic assurance which undertakes to record in advance of the ballot the people's verdict at the polls.

How long shall such methods of intrigue be allowed to manipulate, bargain for and capture the highest candidacies of the Republic? How long is this party of wealth, hypocrisy, chicanery, and fraud to administer the public trusts?

#### REVIVE THE OLDEN SPIRIT.

Upon the recurrence of this patriotic season, made memorable by the self-sacrifices of patriots, who pledged fortune, life, and sacred honor to maintain their independence and confirm their liberties to posterity, it is especially becoming in us to determine that extravagances and glitter, epicurean luxuries and treacheries, financial and political frauds shall receive the condemnation which righteous indignation and common honesty should heap upon them. It is especially fitting that we should commend that enthusiasm of patriotism which over a hundred years ago consumed in its wrathful fire the miserable selfishness of men, gave revival to conscience, and shone like a precious gem in the crown of Liberty. To despair of one's country is dastardly. He is a graceless son who will not aid his mother in her extremity. More need then of hopeful, helpful, invigorating works.

If there be one way more than another in which popular sovereignty may be overthrown most speedily and dishonored most ignobly, it is that by which our public service is made the feudal retainer of corporate wealth, and the goal of spoilsmen intent only on private aggrandizement. It is a sad day for our country when a small coin no larger than one's eye is brought so near to constituent and representative that its disk shuts out the whole horizon of social and political life. The history of nations shows that it is not impossible, by absorption in one ignoble pursuit, to lose that spiritual vision which gazes undazzled a

the full noonday radiance of alluring ambitions. How hard for man to resist temptations when such as now allure were even offered to Divinity itself. I do not despair.

I am not as one without hope. We have not all bowed the knee to Baal. I feel that I am among men who are not altogether engrossed in the pursuits of avarice; men who engage in daily toils and nightly meditations that are more attractive than the chink of silver or the rustle of greenbacks; men who can enjoy books more interesting and inspiring than the ledgers of the counting-room. Thank God, we are not yet as a nation altogether bankrupted in patriotism and selfish in greed.

#### JUDGE CANDIDATES BY THEIR LIVES.

In a year like this, when we should select our leading officers—Federal, State, and municipal—with a view to the general welfare, is it not our duty to inquire into the causes of the untrustworthiness which has become all too common in public and private administration, in order that they may be removed by such an exercise of long-outraged and indignant suffrage as will tend to exalt honesty over greed? Our newspapers are full of the catalogues of speculative liabilities, aggregating millions in amount. They are full of the long lists of stocks and bonds pledged, or purloined to be pledged, in dishonest schemes from which thousands of innocent people have grievously suffered. The ventures pertaining to some of these peculiar transactions have come very near to my own city and the Federal Government. This startling array of fraud and speculation is a warning against the selection for high public trusts of mere "business men." Their political and financial trustworthiness has not stood the test of public scrutiny.

Blackstone said that it required thirty years' study of the law in order to become so imbued with its principles as to be qualified to administer it in the courts. There is great wisdom in this view of the learned commentator. No man can be a student and practitioner of law for thirty years without having established a well-deserved reputation either for integrity and ability, or for dishonesty and chicanery, or for honesty and mediocrity. The same is true of persons who have held offices of honor, profit, or trust for any considerable time. Their acts and modes of life are the fruits by which they are to be judged. Judging candidates for offices and trusts in this way, and giving our suffrages to the competent and worthy only, would soon bring to us the reform we so sadly need. I do not concur with those who would regulate our State and Federal administration on "business principles." I desire a higher standard in our public agents than that of mere faithful employés and wage-earners. I would have no offices of profit. All should be of honor, trust, and modest compensation, and filled only by those of proven ability and integrity. I would make office-holding not merely an educational reward, but an award of civic honor to patriotism, capacity, and unquestioned integrity. Especially would I demand such qualifications in the legislators, the judges, and the more important executive offices. The minor offices, like the streams from pure or turbid fountains, will partake of the translucence or the tinge of the sources from whence they flow.

#### TRUE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

If we had such a civil-service reform as this, would there be the place-hunting, the arrogance and riotous display of wealth by men in public stations that is such conclusive evidence, in thousands of cases, of the

ill-gotten gains that grow out of corrupt contracts for public service, barters of political influence, embezzlements, speculations with public moneys, and other breaches of official trusts? Every fifth year the ancient Romans had their *lustrum*—their year of purification, of census, of apportionment of public burdens, of accounts of stewardships. How long has it been since our nation had its *lustrum*?

It is an old rule of Democratic faith that the money of the people should not be deposited in banks designated by officers, to be trafficked in at pleasure and tempt to speculations that end in bankruptcy. The sub-treasury system of the United States grew out of this jealousy for the safe-keeping of the public funds. How the times have changed. Not long since a bank in New York city had in its vaults, by permission of a Secretary of the Treasury, securities and moneys of the United States resulting from securities amounting to nearly fifteen millions, free to speculate in, without any bonded liability to the Government in case of loss. I will not assert that this was the result of a corrupt bargain; but I will say that such questionable conduct in an office of great public trust should be regarded as conclusive evidence of want of virtue in the incumbent. It is sufficient ground for divorce from the public service. It is only a matter of good luck, perhaps, that in the case referred to speculation did not run so high as to have absorbed or sunk the millions deposited.

#### THE GENERAL DISTRUST.

It is a matter of sadness for many a stockholder that a shrinkage of ten millions occurred the other day in one of our railroads, for which there was no compensation in the shrinkage in value of a millionaire's assets of twenty-three millions. A depreciation of forty points on twenty-five millions of bonds, equal to ten millions of shrinkage, not only affected by its reaction other investments at home, but in the present condition of freightage proved a terrible blow against the prosperity of railways, their operation and extension. It begat in foreign investors distrust of American securities sudden and disastrous.

Are we to learn, under the untrustworthy associations of to-day, the lesson that no confidence can be placed in any man, however high or proud? The game of hazard has been often played, by men of high social standing, in cotton and grain, in clothing and food. Speculation has run riot, loans have been shifted, and business disturbance become turbulent. The banks that are now maintained for the purpose of giving a safe and uniform currency to the people at a cost to the tax-payers of from 2.70 to 4.50 per cent. of their issue, have become so tainted by participation in these transactions that Congress is now seeking to learn something about the unsound condition of their reserves and securities. The people demand to know why the recent enormous shrinkage in values has begotten such a shrinkage of confidence in respect to all financial operations.

#### VARIETIES OF FRAUD.

Army officers duplicate their pay until the son of Lincoln loses patience at their petty devices of fraud, and court-martials are called too late. Unrecorded vouchers invade the Naval Bureau of Medicine and Surgery. Armory contracts display frauds. We see fixed returns of the rotten railroads that owe the Government moneys not computable. Our Land Office shivers under 600,000 pending claims for 7,000,000 acres of public lands, mostly claimed by land thieves. It is not alone the starry route, and vast largesses in the elections of 1880, nor the use of money to buy mercenary delegations at Chicago. It is not alone that the Govern-

ment seeks to hide its schemes of aggrandizement under secrecy, so as to disburse a quarter of a million to the congress and newspapers of Central America for private ends and canal projects. It is not alone the acquisition by hook and by crook of 20,000,000 of acres of our soil held by foreigners. It is not alone giving to France and England control of our Isthmian routes. It is not alone the system of absentee landlordism that exists in Dakota and other Territories to blight our heritage as it has blighted the fertile fields of Ireland. It is not alone the railroad wrecker and repudiator who strove to wrest Old Virginia from her ancestral politics.—These and the thousand other frauds wring from such Republicans as George William Curtis the following confession :

Honest and economical administration, peaceful and honorable foreign relations, the progressive purification of the public service at home, wise reduction of the revenue, and that sense of general security which springs from the moral elevation of the Administration—are not to be expected from Republican success.

THEIR NAME IS LEGION.

A clerk has lucky speculations among his Norwalk (Ohio) neighbors, while pocketing fifty thousand of their earnings. A railroad magnate mismanages his road between Nashville and Louisville, but manages to get caught on \$200,000 restitution of unlawful funds. Insurance rogues deal with Death, and call in the gossellers to help his claims. Suicides become common, and the coroners find—"deficits." Even staid Boston has her scandal of gas bribes to senators for their votes. Poultrices and plasters help the weak, bail bonds and Government counsel help the wicked. The outcasts of dishonesty, base all their hopes on the possible election of a Republican candidate. Yet this dark cloud has some silver lining—a few earnest and honest Republicans protest.

What, asked an English paper, makes the American a more dangerous gamester than the Frenchman or Englishman? This was its answer:

What, indeed, is ruin in that exhilarating air, with nobody caring, and thirty-six States around you offering to the skillful 36,000 ways of making money? An attack of dyspepsia is far worse; and, in fact, when a prominent American is ruined we generally hear that he is "sick," and that his friends upon that account are full of anxiety for his future.

THE SPIRIT OF GREED.

What cable can tether or chain bind this spirit of unholy greed in private and public life? Whether in the cañons of the Colorado, deep down below the sound of human woe, or within the rocky volumes of the geologic and prehistoric eras, where the simple Zuni worships like an Oriental, or upon the unctuous soil of the Indian reservations, where the red man imagines that he is located, as long as grass grows or water runs, this spirit of greed is there, rolling arable acres as a sweet morsel on its tongue. It hovers over the splendid Yellowstone Park, where the laboratories of nature are producing by their perpetual chemistry the weird wonders which the pencil and easel of Durant have made familiar to us. Go to the uttermost parts of our land, from the Têche, where the alligator fights the sugar planter with a show of teeth not unlike his own tariffs, to the Red River of the North, the vales of Montana, and snow-capped, verdure-robed Cascades of the far Northwest; and lo! the greedy spoiler is on the wing—prospecting, engrossing and blighting our fair domain, the heritage of our children's children!

THE DECAY OF INTEGRITY.

All these matters can be referred to the decay of integrity in politics, business, and society. A few days ago the criminal judges of New



York city delivered charges to the grand jury in which they commended our police and our criminal jurisprudence. They said that the persons and property of our people are protected from the ordinary felon and bully. This is undoubtedly true. Reasonable protection has been given against the common robber and burglar. Even the bunko men and other vagrants have been apprehended in their petit larcenies. But the instances which occur to you upon the west side of this city, as well as in other cities—in Pittsburgh and Newark—show that the rottenness of our society prevails not so much on the outside as inside of our institutions. For example, there was the Penn Bank, named after the mild and honest Quaker of Pennsylvania. It had provisos against any stockholder or officer being liable or assessable for an amount greater than the face value of his stocks. It received deposits by the millions. The other day the depositors found little or no assets and two millions of their money gone! Better than burglars' jimmies or outsiders were the insidious banker's instruments of wholesale robbery in Pennsylvania. Such instances of plunder are more emphatic in producing industrial depression than your masked tariffs and taxations. How was the collapse of this bank managed? By fictitious entries of deposits. This bank, like others, became simply a medium of respectable rascality. How much of a dividend will the little remnant of assets give the depositors? Who among the gang of defrauders will wear the striped clothes of the penitentiary? Men like Vanderbilt masquerade upon the books of the bank, and oil speculations gave lubricity to the slipperiness of its officers.

It is no satisfaction to know that the fiduciary guardians of the West Side Savings Bank, with its disappearing cashier, lamented in deepest sorrow the necessity for suspension. They regretfully closed the doors against the men and women who sought the hard-earned money they had deposited with them. It is no satisfaction to know that the Stock Exchange is excited over the tumbling down of gilded hopes. How sad that the head office of Jerry McCauley's Cremorne Mission is now vacant for another Wall Street saint. It is little satisfaction to know that it is easier for such rich men to go through the eye of a needle than to enter the kingdom of Heaven.

#### LEGALIZED GAMBLING.

Much has been said by our purist committees from the Legislature about the prevalence of gambling houses in our great cities. It seems to have been overlooked that these houses exist by reason of the insatiate craving created by the business of the exchange; for what is its business unless it be betting on the price of stocks under the pretext of purchase? Faro is respectable and poker courageous in comparison. In these games other people's money is not always risked. The law may make a difference between these and other games of chance, but as between a bucket-shop and a put-and-call establishment, as between a margin-dealer and a roulette-player, there is little or no moral difference. If there be any, it is in favor of the bucket-shop and the roulette-wheel. It is this passion for gambling that is at the bottom of the methods of the conventions and the street.

To these methods may be attributed the cause of much political baseness and social decay. The capitalist who deals in futures, is in some respects better than he who speculates, to the ruin of innocent families, with money not his own. Yet both are gamblers. Embezzlement, fraud, defalcation, theft, all the phases of financial crime are begotten by this illicit passion for gain. As the cause of causes, this pas-



sion is more harmful than all the other business schemes of men who seek to engross the patrimony of the young and the honest earnings of the old. The time may come when the now respectable dealers in these games of chance will be branded as destroyers of families, and their operations be condemned as incentives to unlawful speculation. So long as these games of chance are conducted as legitimate business by the pious and devout, by the long-faced hypocrites and Tartuffes of society, just so long should wealth so gained be regarded with scorn and indignation. Is it from this school of gamblers that we are to take lessons in "business methods," administration, and public policy?

#### OUR WEALTH ENGROSSERS.

Time was, at the beginning of this generation, when the property of the country was more generally shared by the people than now. There was then not so much value per capita in the country; but the people were more contented. There was then little of private defalcation and less of public dishonor. Now we have our Goulds and Vanderbilts and others who engross most of the wealth of the nation. No one is considered in the roll of wealth to-day who does not list his property by the million. The vast assets of our great millionaires were accumulated, not by the ordinary rise of values incident to our industrial developments, but by the watering of stocks aided by corrupt courts, the subtle artifices of bribed legislators, and combinations organized for the spoliation of honest stockholders.

It is not worth while to speak to you in detail of the enormous swindles, heaped like Pelion on Ossa, by which hundreds of millions of ill-gotten gains have been accumulated in the hands of a few financial conspirators. Perhaps the remarks already made may be sharply criticised because they relate to private and not to public matters. My answer to this is, that when business men, so called, who are supposed to manage and control the great interests which center in our metropolis and involve the prosperity of the whole country, join in demonstrations of a political nature, it is well for us to learn how far their business interests go into the field of politics. The dashing Ward, the festive Eno, the pious Hatch, the humane Seney, the devout Bogart, and the godly Gould all join in an apotheosis to the Republican party, as if they were worshiping devoutly some emperor lavish with the plunder of the nations. These worship at the Republican shrine with the same reverential awe as the Dorseys and Elkinses of the postal Milky Way. The big king of the gambling financiers himself rushes into print to hail the Republican nominee as "a live man," "a live President," as "abreast of the times," "the man who never allows himself to fall behind a single step," "a man for the place." Many such "business men" are so high above the people that they ostentatiously avoid being contaminated by association with industrious men who vote the Democratic ticket and marshal under our banner.

#### THE UNION LEAGUE DICTATORS.

These and other Jeremy Diddlers of the Union League, who assume to be the best society and falsely claim the highest culture, might well be spared from the arena of politics which they befool with their unsavory presence. Let us endeavor to teach fiduciary agents something of that fidelity which would come from the rule of honest labor and Democratic practices. They and their brethren of the street should learn something of the philosophic wisdom of Jefferson, the economic frugality of Franklin, and Jackson's contempt of mere money-mon-

gers before they presume to dictate to honest citizens whom they shall elect as Chief Magistrate. These gamblers in millions are fit associates perhaps for the official pirates who ran New York city in 1872, and who were always promptly at the front of the citizens' movement for reform. These are the "reformers" who gloried in the Sherman and Hayes administration of 1877. The speculators and bankers who gamble on the earnings of the poor; who feather their own nests by treachery and falsehood; who buy and sell what they do not have; who make bread and coal dear by secret combinations; who deify successful political profligacy; who would exclude honest merit from social position—are these the men by whom reproach can be cast upon those who seek to make society honorable under the pure teachings of Democracy, and the nation worthy of its founders?

The example of these gamblers for wealth is followed not alone by the confidence-men who will meet you in our avenues and squares, not alone by the agent who may collect money in the name of the Goddess of Liberty and the Bartholdi statue, not alone by the clerk who robs his employer to gratify his lust of gain, not alone by the cashier or the president of a bank who breaks faith with those by whom he is trusted, but, alas! also by men who have obtained leadership in the great sauhedrim of political organization. Thus the decay of our integrity, beginning with the very fruit and flower of our system, extends and ramifies its blight into every social and political institution all over our land.

#### A TIME FOR REFORM.

However numerous the modes of deceit and the practices of fraud may be, however demoralizing the prostitution of official trusts by public officers and corporate and other managers, we might still be able to bear and forbear if the consequences were limited to the records of detected frauds; but when fraudulent quotations make the prices of our bonds speculative, it is not to be wondered at that other restrictions of honest business modes have been removed, it is no wonder that hypothecations and sales of borrowed property have been made by respectable financiers who oppose legal restrictions upon their private business conduct, and complain that it is not the concern of the public to restrain speculation by law. The pools which defy and set at naught the honest enterprises of industry and trade and depress or enhance values at pleasure, might be of little moment to us if they only affected the private interests of conspirators; but when great public interests are injuriously affected, when the whole market reeks with deceptive and fraudulent deals and quotations the moral atmosphere becomes equally tainted, and industrial prostration, bankruptcy, and other evil results follow. When these are the results is it not time to attempt some public and business reforms? Is it not high time to attempt some reform when a great political party in its candidacy for the most honorable office in the gift of the American people enthusiastically nominates for that high estate a candidate of whom it would be mild language to say that he is reasonably suspected of acquiring vast wealth by the prostitution of great official position and influence?

Allow me to make some pregnant illustrations of what I have said. They are in reference to corrupt and demoralizing combinations which cause much of the decay of integrity both in business and political relations. And first, as illustrated in the grasping monopolies under our

tariff system; and second, the grasping combinations and pools not originating in the tariff.

#### THE OLD TARIFF THEORY AND THE NEW.

The old theory of protective tariffs was based on the idea that as the countries of the Old World had great knowledge and experience in the manufacturing arts, some special favors should be extended to persons on this continent. This was to be done with a view to enable and encourage them to develop manufacturing industry. It was not until after many years that the question of protection of wages entered into the tariff policy. The larger the growth of our manufacturing industry the more important became the question of wages.

The original theory vanished long since. It vanished because it is now admitted on all sides that manufactures are so firmly established among us that, so far as tariffs are concerned, the laborer is the only party who needs protection.

Then it follows that the laborers in our shops and factories are the only parties who have any proper interest in the maintenance of high tariffs. The question is: Are they the beneficiaries? I hold that they are not; and therefore I hold that the operations of the tariff laws are unjust. These laws are oppressive to the full extent of their indirect taxation. Show me that these laws are beneficial to the mechanics and other laborers, and I will advocate a tariff for revenue so adjusted as to enhance as much as possible the rewards of labor. I will do this even though the tax weigh heavy on the whole people, if I have constitutional power.

We have the constitutional power to raise all our Federal revenue from the customs; but to do this we must import manufactured goods. We have no constitutional power to enact a law that is ostensibly declared to be a revenue measure, but in fact the opposite, a prohibition of importation, and hence in its operation a restraint on exportation. Our people can not engage in the latter without practicing the former.

The Constitution forbids the taxation of exports, much more the larger measures of prohibition. The reason for this is that foreign markets are a prime necessity for the maintenance of our farming interests. The more these are developed the greater the necessity for observing in good faith this wise restriction on Federal power. If we adopt the policy of the advocates of high tariffs we must favor legislation that is forbidden by the Constitution. We must restrain exportation. We must to that extent restrain the development of our greatest industry, agriculture. Would this be wise?

#### RESPECT FOR THE CONSTITUTION.

I have never known an instance of unconstitutional legislation proving beneficial to the people. Bad logic is bad law. All our legislators are sworn to obey the Constitution. We are bound to respect its spirit as well as its letter. I believe in commerce because of its benefits. All the more do I believe it my duty to foster commerce, because that is a duty imposed upon us by the Constitution, which we have sworn to obey.

The very fact that the protection of wages was never in the early days of the Republic considered as being within the scope of tariff legislation, and that the heavier the tariffs the more talk there was and is of the necessity for protection of wages, is strong evidence that the operation of a tariff is inconsistent with the theory of its advocates. Why, then, do these men insist that there shall be free trade in labor, and that we should violate our oaths by imposing unconstitutional re-

straints on the large business of exportation? Is it because the labor in our mills and factories is benefited?

AN EXPOSURE OF THE TARIFF FRAUDS.

In my addresses to Congress this session on the tariff question, I proved by the official figures that under the tariff laws of 1880 the average wages in our manufacturing industries was \$1.16 a day for three hundred working days in the year, while at the same time the average profits of the manufacturers were equal to 36 per cent. of their invested capital. I also proved that the indirect taxation of the tariffs reduced the purchasing power of these wages at least 40 per cent. This, in connection with the well-known fact that employers are ever on the alert for cheap labor, is conclusive proof that they are not interested in maintaining high wages.

Why, then, do employers demand high tariffs? Why do they organize lobbies to prevent the reduction of tariffs? Motives of philanthropy are not the inspiring cause of these lobbies. I will show you the cause of their efforts in the sacred name of labor—as I exposed it in my last address to Congress on this subject. It is the insatiate greed of wealth. I thus exposed it. I thus proved by cold arithmetic the extent of the tariff robbery:

THE EVIDENCE OF TARIFF ROBBERY.

First. I showed by the figures of the Tenth Census that the profits of manufacturing capital for the year covered by the official returns amounted to \$1,024,801,847, a sum equal to between 36 and 37 per cent. of the capital employed. I showed that if this profit had not exceeded 10 per cent. there would, at the wages paid, have been a saving to consumers of \$745,774,587; that this sum would have paid all the State and local taxes and still have left to the credit of the consumers \$443,573,863; that the latter sum, saved annually for six years and invested in United States 3 per cent. bonds, would amount to \$2,861,051,610—a sum \$70,779,004 in excess of the total capital invested in 1880 in the manufacturing industries of the United States; that this six years' savings would pay off all State, Territorial, county, municipal, and other local debts, and still leave unexpended \$1,804,645,402; that this six years' savings would exceed by \$247,445,346 all the paid up capital of all the railroad companies in the United States in 1880; and that six years more of such savings would pay off all the bonded and all the unfunded debt of these railroad companies, as reported in 1880, and leave an unexpended balance of \$48,935,314!

Second. I further showed that the total amount of wages (including salaries of officers and clerks) paid in 1880 in the manufacturing industries was \$947,953,795; that on a 6 per cent. return to the capital invested, the manufacturers could have paid, in 1880, to their employes 90.45 per cent. in excess of the wages paid that year; that on a 10 per cent. return to the capital they could have paid their employes 78.62 per cent. in excess of the wages paid that year; and that they could have paid from the returns accrued to their capital in 1880 all the State, Territorial, county, and municipal taxes, and 46.79 per cent. more wages to their employes than they did, and still have a return of 10 per cent. on the capital employed in their business.

THE ANNUAL CONSCRIPTION.

As a 10 per cent. return to capital was liberal in a year in which money was freely invested in Government bonds bearing low interest, I charged that our tariff-protected manufacturers were engrossing the



wealth of the nation at the rate of \$745,774,587 per annum, while labor was receiving the bare pittance of \$1.16 a day—equal only to 75 cents in purchasing power! I say now, as I said then, that it was this annual conscription of the national wealth that capitalized all the other exacting monopolies. And yet the Republican party dares us to attempt tariff reduction. It challenges the Democrats to make this an issue in the approaching political campaign.

It is this system of tariff concentration of our great and enormously increasing national wealth that the great bulk of the Democratic party is opposed to. It is this system that the Republican party is as determined to maintain.

The evil effects of tariffs do not stop at the iniquitous exactions from the people, the incident paralysis of industry, and the degradation of labor. The moral tone of our society has been debased by this open legalized system of robbery which is unblushingly carried out under the most transparent veil of hypocrisy that ever disguised a fraud. When I see so plainly this tariff monstrosity, my wonder, my indignation arises almost as much against the blindness and stupidity of the grossly defrauded laborers who adhere to the party that legalizes their robbery and enslaves their children, as it does against the robbers themselves.

#### ASSOCIATIONS FOR PLUNDER.

The great manufacturers are associated for two purposes, yea, three, namely:

First. To maintain high tariffs.

Second. To maintain high prices for their products.

Third. To reduce wages as low as possible and to prevent any and every organization of labor, social, industrial, and political, that would tend to defeat any of these objects.

Any young man of talents and brilliant qualities as an advocate can enter the service of these associations with reasonable prospect of high legislative position, if he has sufficient elasticity of conscience to yield to their seduction.

Wealth commands talent. Wealth is "the daughter of the horse-leech, crying, 'Give!' 'Give!'" "The grave; and the barren womb; the earth that is not filled with water; and the fire that saith not, 'It is enough,'" are not more insatiate than the tariff spoilers.

Surely of their generation was spoken the word of Agur, the son of Jakeh, even the prophecy: "There is a generation, whose teeth are as swords, and their jaw teeth as knives, to devour the poor from off the earth, and the needy from among men."

I would remind the incorporated devourers of the poor who, like "Hell and destruction, are never satisfied," that "He that hasteth to be rich hath an evil eye and considereth not that poverty shall come upon him;" "He that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house." I would tell them: "Better it is to be of an humble spirit with the lowly than to divide the spoil with the proud;" "Better is a little with righteousness than great revenues without right."

When I see the corrupt methods of the corporate and tariff spoilers, the social and political degradation that they have brought upon us, I thank my God for having directed my steps away from those who haste to be rich on the unrequited labors of the poor, and for enabling me to preserve in thought and deed true loyalty to my oath and the Constitution in the halls of legislation.

It is this ill-gotten tariff wealth that has caused the decay of integrity



in our business and political relations and fostered the development of other monopolies. It was amassed in fraud of the people by modes that have cast reproach on the legislative branch of our Government. It has long controlled legislation and made the way easy for many violations of the Constitution in the name of national developments.

#### THE PUBLIC LANDS TRUSTS.

The lands transferred to the Federal Government in trust for the people by Virginia and other of the old States that formed this Union, and those subsequently acquired, were long regarded as a sacred heritage. This trust was fairly guarded until the high-tariff party obtained control. Then it was that the policy of lavish grants to railroad corporations came in vogue.

From the year 1864 to 1875 the Republicans had full control of both branches of Congress. In the House of Representatives Schuyler Colfax was Speaker from December 7, 1863, to March 3, 1869. For six years thereafter the present nominee of the Republican party for the high office of President of the United States, a gentleman of still more unsavory fame than his predecessor in the Speakership, presided in the House.

In the eleven years following 1863 Republican Congresses voted 296,000,000 of acres of our public lands to a few corporations, in addition to millions upon millions of public money. Very much of the latter was used as a corruption fund for members who were in haste to be rich. These grants exceeded in area that of all the farms in the United States in 1880; exceeded it by many millions of acres. They exceeded by 75,000,000 acres the area of the thirteen original States. This empire, equal in area to fifteen average States of the Union, was vested in the possession of a handful of millionaires who now wield the full political power of at least that number of States.

Is not this another illustration of the monstrous combinations of monopolies? Have not these caused the decay of political morality? Is not the gambling in stocks secured by these infamous grants another illustration of the decay in business morality? Do you ever stop to consider the effect of these stocks, both direct and indirect, as an obstacle in the way of the attempt made in Congress to make some restitution of the lands despoiled from the people in violation of a most sacred trust? If you do, you will begin to know something of one of the causes of the decay of integrity that is second only to the tariffs in its baleful influences on public and private morality.

#### THE FALSE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

We have created our masters—our task-masters. They dictate our laws, our tariffs, our wages, and our rates of transportation. They scarce allow us straw to make the brick for their pyramids of wealth. Their greed is only equaled by their effrontery. The climax of their audacity is the last Republican platform, hung with false lights to lure the people to their wreckers.

When will labor arouse from its lethargy? Is there any haven for it in the Democratic party? If not, farewell to the Republic of our fathers. But I do not despair of the Republic. When our people begin to discuss the tariff policy their natural quickness of perception and good sense will soon bring them as right on this question as they are on the other monopoly issues.

The genius of greed needs no legislation to foster its passion. If I could make the law, my aim would be to render it impossible for any

man to accumulate a million dollars while labor was glad to earn a dollar and sixteen cents a day the year round. While this condition of industry remains, the fraud of tariff protection is patent, and corporate enterprise is robbery.

If you would have progress, prosperity, virtue, and reform, your representatives and officials must not be hirelings of millionaires or directors of corporations. Ye can not gather figs from brambles nor grapes from thistles. Holy writ says, ye can not serve two masters. Ye can not serve God and mammon; neither can your legislators nor executives nor judges. They must hate you and love mammon, or else the reverse.

If such be the political ethics and practice as to political economy in our public lands, you will not wonder that the laboring man is poorly recompensed for his day's labor, and that even the Scotch crofter and the Irish tenant, oppressed as they are by harsh laws and avaricious landlords, begin to hesitate about yielding to the attractive forces of that emigration which has filled our shores.

#### REPUBLICAN PHARISEES.

You have read of the pharisee who thanked God that he was better than other men, therefore you wonder not that even the Republican platform-makers assume a virtue which they have not in resolving against the consummation of their own land thefts, and the turning over to foreigners of large areas of our public domain. You need not wonder that our nation has become a shipless one under the rule of such a party.

With such examples of corruption as those furnished by the Republican administrations you are not surprised at the testimony given before our investigating committees as to the inutility and perfidiousness of the "star-route" prosecutions. Even the bar, not to speak of the jury, are tainted by the order to "let Dorsey and others go." Are you surprised that a leading Republican paper in 1883, despairing of any reformation under a Republican administration, cried, after the acquittal of the Bradys and Dorseys, "Turn the rascals out." Was there ever a shame equal to the Republican mode of prosecution or to that verdict of acquittal? Was there ever a cause for public shame equal to the impudence and arrogance of those other rascals who, never acquitted because not indicted, have undertaken to make nominations for the American people to fill the highest offices of trust? If it be impossible to find a jury in Washington to convict representative Republican statesmen in such palpable cases of grand larceny, can we expect that the smaller thieves, the Howgates and the Burnsidés, will not go acquit of their crimes and unwhipt of justice?

#### TURN THE RASCALS OUT.

The business methods of the Executive Departments under Republican administration are very like those of the many robbed and broken banks. The accounts of the paymaster in the Post-Office Department had not been audited for three years; and though the amount of speculation may be quite small in a federal way, as compared with others that occurred in the Departments, or many recent ones in banking business, the temptations to the embezzlement of money by the fever of speculation and immunities given to our magnificent rascals became more and more frequent. The extent of Republican embezzlements and peculations will never be known until we—"turn the rascals out."

## OFFICIAL LOBBYISTS.

Much has been said, and doubtless truthfully, of the lobbies around our legislative bodies. Much has been said as to the control of lobbies at Albany, Harrisburg, and Washington. Doubtless the lobby at the latter place has been bold, even beyond the vigorous grammar of Senator LOGAN to denounce. He publicly acknowledged some weeks ago that he had been excessively lobbied for a railroad grant or other monopoly in the Yellowstone by a high Republican official in our Land Department. The party which shamelessly confesses to having elevated Garfield by the use of money, and which, as has been alleged, recently used money lavishly for the transportation of purchasable delegates to Chicago, and consigned them there to the care of its confidence men, affords a striking illustration of the difference between precept and practice. It has not improved upon its former teaching. Its long-established practice and present conduct and policy, make the combinations and log-rolling for public-building and river-and-harbor plunder bills venial, compared with the repeated attempts, which have signally failed in the House of Representatives, to carry a measure for New York bankers by which to appreciate securities and help a firm heavily loaded with a certain class of bonds.

Official corruption, base political methods, the connection between bursting banks in New York, closing savings-banks in New Jersey, and the attempted Republican legislation in Washington, together with the frantic efforts to stop the late panic by calling Government bonds in advance of expectancy—thus giving Government aid and participation in rings of corrupt speculators—all illustrate the decay of integrity in a political, business, and social point of view.

Is it in vain to call attention to the \$387,000,000 wasted upon an unseen navy? Is it in vain to inveigh against the Robesons, Belknaps, and others who have made official life suspicious by reason of their partialities?

## A DEGRADED JUDICIARY.

Yet these public wrongs are as nothing compared with the contempt which has been heaped upon our supreme judiciary. The bench may no longer boast of its immaculate ermine. Even before it was dragged into the mire through which Hayes was elevated, it had lost much of that sanctity which was our best guarantee of liberty and justice. The miscarriage of justice on that occasion was not alone due to the corruptions incident to this age of moral decay. It was a conquest by corporate money-power aided by political bigotry and partisan malice—a crime against our institutions that was condoned and defended by some of the highest men in the Republican party. Perhaps this startling degradation of the judicial office was less astounding at the time because the people had become, in some sort, accustomed to vicious and mercenary judicial practices in political affairs.

The times which make such men as Jay Gould possible have made us indifferent to deeds that would have outraged our former sense of honor and duty. Is not the very form and system of our Government perverted when men like Gould can openly boast of using the legislature and the court for their selfish ends? Is there not decay in the land where judges sit in the highest courts whose gowns have been thrown upon their shoulders by cunning intrigue if not by mercenary litigants? Is there not a vulture tearing at the vitals of honest industry when a board of directors, controlled by one man, is permitted to double its corporate stock by watering, and distribute its shares broadcast among

his friends? It is because such things as these are possible in this Republic that panics come to us and the hard-earned wages of labor are evanescent. It is as true that the corruption which belongs to our public life has been caused as much by the profligacy of private life, as that the corruption of private life has been fostered by the opportunities which public life has afforded.

There is great need of business, social, and political reform. We have had many sad days in our history; but the saddest of all is to come if a leader such as the one recently chosen at Chicago, one whose great wealth has, it is said, been acquired by the manipulation of public credit and legislation, shall be elected to sit in the seat of executive power, with all its opportunities for political and financial rewards. The modes of the campaign which ensue from the recent contest at Chicago will be dictated not by virtue and fidelity to good principles, but by the reckless, unblushing practices of those who seek to corruptly influence the public vote.

#### CAN THE LAW BE ENFORCED?

What is the remedy for these recent aberrations and crimes? We must appeal to the electoral as well as the judicial tribunals. We must have a purer administration of power and justice. The unparalleled swindlers must have some other form of trial than before a Washington jury. The demand for extradition of embezzlers and public thieves must be stronger than our present State Department is disposed to make. Why are the wholesome provisions of the national banking laws allowed to remain inert on the statutes? The Federal officers high and low whose duty it is to enforce them have been criminally inactive; they should be themselves arraigned as criminals. Our law declares that every officer or agent of any national bank who embezzles, abstracts, or willfully misapplies any of the moneys, funds, or credits of the association, or who makes any false entry in any book, report, or statement, and every person who aids or abets any such business, shall be imprisoned not less than five nor more than ten years. Can this law be executed? If not, let us know the reason why. Let the national banks undergo a searching inquisition. Let the right kind of examiners be appointed. Let the apathy which now reigns be changed to activity by the demand of the people, and we will have some amazing and mysterious disclosures that will lead to reformations such as renovated France after the bursting of John Law's bubble.

#### THE PLATFORM OF THE PEOPLE.

But there are other remedies besides those of the law. The working people are not satisfied with the modes of the present great parties. They are organizing against monopolies. They may not very clearly see where the grievous wrong is, but they know that the rich are growing richer as the toiling millions are growing poorer. The working people are watching the oil monopolies and money engrossers, the national bankers and political Jeremy Diddlers, the bank embezzlers and official peculators, with a keen and vigilant eye. They are noting the extent of the money-power in political parties. They demand that labor and capital shall be allies in profits as well as production. They proclaim that charters are repealable and controllable by the power that granted them; that economy must be exercised in the public service; that bounties shall no longer be given for the largess of the few against the welfare of the many; that taxes be levied only for the economic ends of Government; and that unnecessary taxation must bring corrupting surpluses. They



indict the old organizations—the Republican party for gross dishonesty and the usurpation and prostitution of Federal power; the Democratic party for its supineness, its want of vigorous policy and its toleration of Mammon. They insist that the best interests of the people, the many, must be regarded, as well in their daily life in respect to shelter, clothing, and food, as in their hours of labor, their system of education, and their share in our institutions and common heritage. They demand that the men who labor least shall not have the best and largest rewards. They point to the awful chasm which has been widening every day between our two great classes, the employers and the toilers.

#### REFORM THROUGH POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

Do not the great ramparts of wealth that were founded in robber tariffs, reared high by corporate exactions, and manned by the political band of the money lords challenge an outbreak of communism that may at any time destroy them? The bad blood which caused the outbreak at Cincinnati the other day is some evidence of the need of a timely reform. Peaceful reform must come from the good sense and integrity of the people through political organizations. They must combine to reform. They must communicate with each other to secure concert of action for reform. Is the needed reform to come through the Democratic party? It is not the party of the tariff robber, the commerce destroyer, or wealth engrosser. Its motto is, "A fair field for labor in all industries and no special privileges to capital." We believe that commerce should be so regulated between the States that the price of bread, coal, and the other necessities of life may not be unduly enhanced. We demand that the importation of foreign labor under contract should be prohibited. We say that not only shall no further subsidies of public lands be granted, but that Congress must repeal the grants of lands already forfeited by the faithless corporators.

#### LAND-GRANT FORFEITURES.

What has Congress done in regard to land restitution? Already the Democratic House has begun the work. The following is a list of the forfeiture bills passed in the House at the present session. This list gives the names of the corporations and the acreage we are trying to recover for the people:

	<i>Acres.</i>
Gulf and Ship Island Railroad.....	652, 800
Tuscaloosa and Mobile Railroad .....	688, 000
Coosa and Tennessee Railroad.....	140, 060
Savannah and Albany Railroad.....	900, 000
New Orleans and State Line Railroad.....	120, 800
Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad.....	1, 057, 024
Texas Pacific Railroad.....	14, 309, 760
Oregon Central Railroad.....	1, 130, 880
California and Oregon Railroad.....	2, 126, 526
Atlantic and Pacific Railroad.....	16, 000, 000
Sioux City and Saint Paul Railroad.....	85, 654
Total.....	37, 211, 504

The following bills are on the House Calendar :

	<i>Acres.</i>
New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Vicksburg Railroad.....	903, 218
Oregon and California Railroad.....	3, 701, 760
Marquette, Houghton and Ontonagon Railroad.....	627, 200
Ontonagon and Brule River Railroad.....	232, 848
Marquette and State Line Railroad.....	540, 848
Northern Pacific Railroad.....	20, 000, 000
Southern Pacific, of California.....	7, 500, 000



How many of these bills will become law? I fear a satisfactory answer will have to await the action of a Democratic Congress.

#### REPUBLICAN DUPES AND AUGURS.

Shall we, like the augurs of the Republican party, regard these principles as mere generalizations for the delusion of honest voters on election day, and wink at each other over the cheat? It is not by the worship of the golden calf into which the Republican Israel has strayed that Democracy can restore the ancient faith. A compact organization of prejudice, insatiate greed, and vast money power confronts us. If we would emancipate and have labor for our allies, we must enter on reform in no hesitating fashion. Our standard-bearers must be good men, tried and true. The demands for reform are not to be disregarded. The party that disregards them will soon lack the votes to give it the power for reform. The party which disregards the industrial toilers, and levies and continues to levy heavy tribute upon the people, and impose countless wrongs upon the millions, will not be the party of success, though its platform be studded with all the political and social platitudes of the times. The victory of the people is at hand. The party of the people can not be led by doctrinaires nor controlled by mere money.

#### THE FLAME OF DISCONTENT.

The frequent election of millionaires to the Senate and the House of Representatives only adds fresh fuel to the flame of discontent. The monstrous accumulations of wealth in the hands of a few, through legislative partiality, must soon receive a check at the hands of an indignant people. Legal trickeries, the extortions of railroad pools and tariffs, breaches of trust and of the Constitution, and other reckless disregards of social and political order we must grapple with, but the main contest will be with the giant of monopoly, whose pockets are lined with money, whose agents and directors sit in our Legislatures, and whose platitudes of hypocrisy and greed furnish planks for the fraudulent political platforms of the party in power. History repeats itself. It warns us of the fate of nations in which the privileges of the few are allowed to override the liberties and interests of the many.

Are we to learn the lesson of the French Revolution by practical inculcation? It is the old story of the downfall of nations—of royalty gambling in the provinces of the people, of enormous fortunes squeezed out of the industrial masses, of judgeships purchased, of juries suborned, of granted monopolies, of crime punished only when the criminal is poor. It is the old, old story of corruption sowing the seeds which yield the harvest of chaos and destruction.

#### THE BASE FASCINATION.

One would think that in this age and country the preservation of law and order would be the first object of those who have a desire for the security of property and the maintenance of liberty. One would think that the honest business interests of this country would look askance at such nominations as have recently been made at Chicago, and aid in administering the remedy. One would think that a people like our own, with an inheritance so splendid, with an ancestry providentially guided here, and with the example set them by generations of patriotic men who have passed from us, would still retain the freshness and purity of virtuous power. Our lands and mines and rivers and forests and our very oil wells and fisheries—all the bounteous elements of sea and earth and sky—would seem to beckon our legislators, our judges, our executives, and our ministers of official grace and honor away from

the base fascinations of hoarded pelf which dishonors to destroy our institutions.

HASTE TO THE WORK OF REFORM.

We must haste to the work of reform. America in its fresh hemisphere, in its first cycle of liberty, with the vote, with the numbers, with the added wisdom and practical sagacity of her people, must clarify the political and social atmosphere, and declare for a new order of administration ere the light of our liberties be extinguished. Let not progress and poverty march abreast in this as in the older hemisphere. Let us make the American Republic an exemplar for all future republics which may be created by the achievements of free men. Now that the world is adapting itself to new developments of physical forces and moral resources, now that new boundaries are being made between the nations, now that new elements are startling kings and kaisers, and giving fleet coursers to civilization by the vapor of water and the spark of lightning, let progress and prosperity march hand in hand on this continent. Let us not prove recreant to the demands of this new order.

THE ONWARD MARCH.

National wealth is not always national prosperity; nor does great progress always imply corresponding happiness. The world is moving, but is humanity benefited?

Let our progress be in the paths of peace, of humanity, and justice, and all our victories, in the interest of liberty and industry. Let the torch of patriotism shine out upon the shoals and reefs where the wreckers would despoil our ship of state, so that free, unbiased as the winds and waves, she may sail on forever freighted with the hopes and the happiness of our human kind.





